2018

Media Framing of Drug Crises in the United States

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by

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B.A., Southern Illinois University, 2014

A Research Paper
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
August 2018

RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

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in the field of Sociology

Approved by:

Rachel Whaley, Chair

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
August, 2018

AN ABSTRACT OF THE RESEARCH PAPER OF

REBECCA S. BOLINSKI, for the Master of Arts degree in SOCIOLOGY, presented on AUGUST 4, 2018, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: MEDIA FRAMING OF DRUG CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Rachel Whaley

With opioid use on the rise, nearly all mass media has devoted considerable time and energy to producing coverage of the burgeoning heroin crisis, framing it as the worst drug epidemic to face the nation. Scholars have long studied the power mass media wields in informing the public agenda, thus constructing *what* people think about and *how* they think about it. I aim to make sense of how the print news media differentially framed the crack-cocaine, non-prescription opioid, and heroin crises by conducting a content analysis of newspaper articles from four time periods. In this paper, I explore the ways in which media framing may be related to the perceived race and socioeconomic status of the user base. Additionally, I examine how framing and narratives used by the media may impact the public's perceptions and judgments, which likely impact drug policy and treatment along the lines of race, gender, and social class.

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INTRODUCTION

Scholars across disciplines have noted the profound power the media wields in constructing reality and shaping public opinion (Adoni & Mane, 1984; Best, 2017; Cohen & Young, 1973; Happer & Philo, 2013; McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). At the most basic level, coverage of events in the news media centers on typifying examples (Best, 2017) involving dramatic representations of somewhat atypical events. Such a reporting technique not only works to gain public interest, it also provides the public with the foundation with which individuals build a knowledge and understanding of events and experiences that are far removed from their lives (McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972). Indeed, McQuail (1972) asserts that the media creates second-hand realities as it shapes "the individual and collective consciousness by organizing and circulating the knowledge which people have of their own everyday life and of the more remote contexts of their lives" (p. 13). In this way, it behooves sociologists to make sense of the ways in which media portrayals form the contours of public life as these portrayals likely have important cultural implications.

While the media covers a multitude of events and happenings, many researchers have noted the tremendous attention the media pays to deviant acts, particularly those involving illicit drugs (Best, 2017; Denham, 2008; McCombs, 2014; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a; Young, 1981). Historically, the media has effectively linked illicit drug selling and use to racial and ethnic minorities throughout history by "ignoring or misrepresenting actual use patterns" (McCombs, 2014; Musto, 1973; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a). Reinarman and Levine (1997a,1997b) argue that these portrayals, particularly of the crack-cocaine epidemic, are born out of intense fear of the racialized other, particularly during times of racial unrest, and out of extreme class

inequalities in the United States. Moreover, racialized and classed media portrayals of drug crises have the potential to affect policy and treatment in unequal ways, thus perpetuating structural inequalities (Alexander, 2012; Chiricos, 1996; Cobbina, 2008; Covington, 2004; Duster, 1997; Hartley & Miller, 2010; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b; Young, 1981).

In recent years we have witnessed extensive media coverage of the growing non-medical use of prescription opioid and heroin crises. Both of these drug crises have affected largely white populations in suburban and rural regions across the United States (Cicero et al., 2015; Jones et al., 2015; Martins et al., 2015; Martins et al., 2017). Moreover, much research (Becker et al., 2008; Compton et al., 2016; Grau et al., 2007; Muhuri et al., 2013; Siegal et al., 2003) suggests that illicit use of prescription opioids often begins with a licit prescription, and that the nonmedical use of prescription opioids serves as a pathway to heroin use. Taken together, the racist manner in which the media has framed and portrayed drug crises of the past and how the media portrays current drug crises deserves attention. The present study contributes to the literature and extends previous research as I conduct a comparative analysis of media portrayals of drug crises in which one user base belongs to a privileged racial and class group whom are presumed to have initiated abuse through once-legal prescriptions while the other user base does not share such privileges.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Background

Media Framing and Setting the Agenda

Communication scholars (Adoni & Mane, 1984; Best, 2017; Cohen & Young, 1973; Happer & Philo, 2013; McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b) assert that the media has the power to shape public opinion by constructing knowledge about events that are outside of everyday lived experiences for the general public. Best (2017) illustrates how the media uses typifying examples to frame and package news stories in ways that peak the interest of the general public. According to this perspective, news workers package and frame information under various constraints involving time, cultural relevance, and novelty; thus, Best (2017) asserts that news is socially constructed as it is shaped to fit larger, dominant cultural ideologies and relevance. Here, we can situate Reinarman & Levine's (1997a; 1997b) approach to making sense of racist media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis as the authors argue that the news and portrayals were born out of dominant racist ideologies, stereotypes, and fear of the racialized other. As such, media portrayals work to reify and perpetuate racist ideologies which then impact policy.

Moreover, Best (2017) and McCombs (2014) note the media's power in setting the public agenda, that is, what the public considers to be important issues facing the nation. By repeatedly devoting news resources and coverage to the same issue, the news media effectively determines the salience of events or topics (Best, 2017; McCombs, 2014). This is possible because the public is aware of the limited space on the news stage; therefore, when news media continues to cover the same issue, the public learns to treat that topic as important. The implications of setting

the public's agenda can be seen in political debates and rhetoric, national support for various policies, public trust in national agencies, and so on (McCombs, 2014). More importantly for this research, agenda setting in terms of drug crises has implications for drug policy, criminality, sentencing, and treatment (Alexander, 2012; Covington, 2004; Duster, 1997; Hartley & Miller, 2010; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b).

Moral Panics, Illicit Drugs, and Media

Not only does the media have the power to shape public opinion and set the public's agenda, it also has the power to create moral panics (Chiricos, 1996; Cobbina, 2008; Cohen, 1981; Hall et al., 1981; Young, 1981; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). In the production of moral panics, the media works to shape moral judgements and beliefs held by the general public to reflect media constructed "folk devils", those who embody immorality, evil, or deceit (Chiricos, 1996; Cohen, 1981; Young, 1981). In terms of drug crises, Young (1981) asserts that the media presents some drugs and users as being immoral, while ignoring other drugs and patterns of use. In this case, Young (1981) points to the media portrayals of certain drugs being linked to an immoral lifestyle of indulgence, pleasure, and laziness. In this way, not all drugs are demonized by the media; rather, one may take pain medication in order to promote longevity at work or have a couple of drinks in order to relax after a long day at the office, in both cases these actions are not portrayed as immoral (Young, 1981).

Reinarman and Levine (1997a; 1997b) point out that other drug use has been portrayed through the lens of a moral panic. According to this perspective, drugs which become stigmatized as immoral are often linked to minority groups (Cobbina, 2008; Musto, 1973; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). Such was the case for Chinese immigrants who were faulted in the media for their perceived overuse of opiates in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries; Mexican immigrants were portrayed as violent marijuana users in the 1930s; African Americans and Latinos were depicted as crack-cocaine users in the 1980s; poor, rural whites were portrayed as primary meth users in the early 2000s; and now, in the mid to late 2010s, affluent, suburban whites, and more recently poor, rural whites are portrayed as the primary users of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin (Musto, 1973; Potter & Kappeler, 1998; Tonry, 2004; Reinarman & Levine, 1997b). In each of these cases, except the last, media portrayals of these drug crises have produced varying degrees of moral panics (Cobbina, 2008).

As stated above, moral panics created around fears of the racialized other and those of low socioeconomic status may serve to reinforce racialized stereotypes and ideologies, scapegoat vulnerable communities and perpetuate structural inequalities, and may impact access and availability of drug treatment and rehabilitation (Chiarello, 2016; McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). As such, studying media portrayals of recent drug crises is important for understanding if and how the media portrays drug crises, in terms of moral panics, when the user base belongs to privileged racial and class groups, but such use increasingly leads to high rate of dependency and mortality.

Empirical Context

Literature regarding the power of the media in shaping public opinion and thus, policy is abundant (Adoni & Mane, 1984; Best, 2017; Cohen & Young, 1973; Happer & Philo, 2013; McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). Moreover, literature regarding media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis is plentiful (Alexander, 2012; Chiarello, 2016; Chiricos, 1996; Cobbina, 2008; Covington, 2004; Duster, 1997; Hartley & Miller, 2010; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b; Young, 1981). However, research comparing media portrayals of various drug crises is somewhat limited.

Cobbina's (2008) content analysis examines media portrayals of the crack-cocaine and methamphetamine crises. Cobbina (2008) points out in her findings that race shaped the ways in which the media portrayed African American crack-cocaine use, and class shaped the way in which the media portrayed poor, white meth users. In both the case of crack-cocaine and methamphetamine, the users belong to subordinated groups in United States culture, one is racially subordinate and the other is class subordinate (Cobbina, 2008). As such, Cobbina's (2008) findings indicate that the media portrayed both drugs as very dangerous and immoral; however, white meth users were not portrayed as posing an extreme violent risk to society which was the case for portrayals of crack-cocaine users. Of course, this is likely related to the prevalence of racist stereotypes that paint black men as hyper-violent (e.g. Collins, 2009).

Moreover, Reinarman and Levine (1997a) explore media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis in their important anthology *Crack in America: Demon Drugs and Social Justice*. Here, the authors point out that media outlets and politicians were not concerned about the increasing cocaine use among middle- and upper-class whites in the late 1970s, even as this use outpaced the 1980s crack-cocaine "crisis". Reinarman and Levine (1997a) assert that crack-cocaine use was labeled a "crisis," "epidemic," and "plague" "when cocaine smoking became visible among a 'dangerous' group" (pp. 19). Moreover, the authors point out that the media and politicians misrepresented prevalence statistics to falsely claim that crack-cocaine use outpaced the use of pure cocaine, a claim that could not be verified at the time as the two drugs were not measured individually on surveys (Reinarman and Levine, 1997a). According to this mode of reasoning, Reinarman and Levine (1997a) make the case that the sudden and tremendous attention of the media and politicians on crack-cocaine use in the "ghettos and barrios" (pp. 19) served as a "convenient scapegoat for enduring and ever growing urban poverty" (pp. 19).

Furthermore, Covington (2004) illustrates the differential public response to marijuana use in the mid-twentieth century. According to Covington (2004) the late 1940s and early 1950s saw an uptick in marijuana use among African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and low-income whites and tough drug laws followed. In particular the "1951 Boggs Act and the 1956 Narcotic Drug Control Act" (pp. 5) were passed which treated marijuana as a narcotic with a mandatory minimum sentence of 2-10 years (Covington, 2004). Interestingly, however, during this time, marijuana use was still relatively uncommon, and did not explode until the mid-1960s and the 1970s. Notwithstanding, the marginal use in the late 1940s and early 1950s led to strict drug laws. Yet, as Covington (2004) illustrates, when marijuana use became extremely popular and prevalent among young middle- and upper-class whites, drug laws were relaxed.

Covington interprets this change in drug policy and public opinion as the result of well-off white teens being arrested. Covington (2004) asserts, "For the first time, middle and upper-class parents had to worry about their kids getting a criminal record that might ruin their lives…Faced with the possibility that their kids would be arrested and locked up like common criminals, majority policymakers and parents became more willing to acknowledge that drug use did not always lead to addiction…" (pp. 5). While this example does not mention media portrayals of drug crises directly, Covington (2004) does note that affluent teen marijuana users were interviewed by *Time* magazine and even testified before Congress.

Taken together, the literature presented here has guided my research question, hypotheses, and design. In the present study, one general research question with another, smaller question subsumed in that, and several hypotheses will drive my research. My research question is as follows, "How did the print news media portray the crack-cocaine, non-medical use of prescription opioids, and heroin crises?". Moreover, my second question is: "To what extent are

the media portrayals of these drug crises raced in ways that perpetuate (or contribute to) racial inequalities?", as there is extensive literature regarding the racialized media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crises (Alexander, 2012; Cobbina, 2008; Cohen & Young, 1973; Duster, 1997; Hartley & Miller, 2010; McCombs, 2014; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). I have generated a few hypotheses regarding my expectations at that start of my research.

H1: Media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will depict crack-cocaine users and dealers as more violent than those portraying users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioid and heroin.

H2: Media portrayals of users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin will be more empathetic in nature than those portraying users and dealers of crack-cocaine.

H3: Media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will advocate for more punitive drug policy than those portraying the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises.

H4: Media portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises will advocate for treatment and rehabilitation, rather than criminal justice intervention, more than those portraying the crack-cocaine crisis.

H5: Media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will include more references to racial categories than portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises.

HEADING 3

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

In order to address my research questions and hypotheses, I will conduct an exploratory content analysis of print news media articles. According to Babbie (2001), content analysis is especially suited for communication studies which aim to make sense of "Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?" (pp. 305). The literature regarding media framing and agenda setting lends itself to answering the first two questions; in this study, the newspaper constitutes the "who", and the public constitutes the "to whom". By examining newspaper articles that are about particular drug crises I can begin to answer the "what" and "how" questions that Babbie (2001) proposes can be answered through content analyses. Moreover, literature regarding media framing, agenda setting, moral panics, substance use, criminality and treatment coupled with coding procedures will help me interpret potential effects of such media portrayals.

Content analysis is the most appropriate research method for investigating the media portrayals of the crack-cocaine, non-medical use of prescription opioids, and the heroin crises as this method makes it possible to examine portrayals of drug crises that took place at different times throughout history. Moreover, the coding procedure relevant to content analyses allows me to classify newspaper articles in ways that address my hypotheses. Additionally, other scholars (Cobbina, 2008) have utilized content analysis to examine media portrayals of drug crises.

Sample

I sampled newspaper articles from four different time periods in order to obtain an accurate depiction of media portrayals from each of the three drug crises of interest. In order to

determine which time periods to draw my sample from, I examined the literature and statistics relevant to each drug's period of peak prevalence, when the use of the drug may reach "crisis" level. According to Reinarman and Levine (1997a), levels of crack-cocaine prevalence rates during the 1980's is difficult to discern as surveys on substance use did not yet delineate between cocaine and its derivative, crack-cocaine. As such, Reinarman and Levine (1997a) estimate that crack-cocaine use reached "crisis" proportions in 1986 following the overdose deaths of two celebrity athletes.

I then looked to the year following peak levels of drug use to draw my sample as I suspected that the number of newspaper articles found in major newspapers will increase in the year directly following higher prevalence rates. As such, I drew my sample of crack-cocaine articles from the August 1, 1987 to August 1, 1988. I used Lexis-Nexis to search for newspaper articles as this website serves as a database for news media archives, among other forms of data and information. I used the search term "crack-cocaine" in order to generate articles that at least mention this term. I did not use "crack", as a search term because preliminary tests show that such a search term generates articles that are not related to crack-cocaine at all. After running the initial search, I used the filtering options provided by Lexis-Nexis to include only results from newspapers; next, I consulted the list of sources filter to check for major newspapers.

For the 1987-1988 crack-cocaine articles, I took a sample of articles from *The New York Times, The Washington Post,* and *The Los Angeles Times*. For this time period, *The New York Times* includes six articles; *The Washington Post* includes thirty-nine articles; and *The Los Angeles Times* includes forty-one articles. As stated previously in this proposal, because I will be examining articles from four different time periods, and several different newspapers, I intend to keep the sample size from each newspaper relatively small in order to achieve a manageable but

sufficient number of articles to examine and code. Therefore, I used all six articles from *The New York Times*, and I sampled eight articles from *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times* each. I utilized an online random number generator to select articles into the study as the article result list is numbered on Lexis-Nexis. In some cases, I had to generate new numbers if the articles only mentioned the drug in passing.

I followed the same process in order to sample articles for the non-medical prescription opioid use and heroin crises. Data reported by Jones et al. (2015) shows an uptick in non-medical prescription opioid use beginning in 2013. Again, I looked to the year following this uptick of use. I drew a sample of articles concerning non-medical use of opioids from the year of August 1, 2014 to August 1, 2015, using LexisNexis. I used "opioid" as my search term and used the same filtering options employed for the crack-cocaine sample. I drew my sample from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Chicago Daily Herald*. For this time period, *The New York Times* includes forty-six articles; *The Washington Post* includes forty-four articles; and *The Chicago Daily Herald* includes fifty-seven. I sampled eight articles from each of these papers using an online random number generator. Additionally, Jones et al. (2015) report that data indicates heroin use increased substantially in 2015; therefore, I drew my sample of articles related to heroin use from the year of August 1, 2016 to August 1, 2017. I followed the same process, using the search term "heroin" and drew my sample from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Chicago Daily Herald*. For this time period, *The New York Times* includes five hundred-eighty articles; *The Washington Post* includes two hundred eighty-one articles; and *The Chicago Daily Herald* includes three hundred eighty-four articles. Again, I used a random number generator to sample eight articles from each paper.

Lastly, I sampled articles regarding crack-cocaine from a more recent time period in order to account for potential changes in social understandings of drug use across time. I drew this sample from the year August 1, 2016 to August 1, 2017 as this time period follows the sample years for non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin articles. Therefore, if overall socio-cultural progress explains differential portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis during the 1980's compared to non-medical use of prescription opioid and heroin crises of the 2010's, portrayals of crack-cocaine from the 2010's should be consistent with portrayals of the other two drug crises. I sampled eight articles from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. My sample size for recent crack-cocaine articles is smaller due the fact that newspaper articles directly dealing with crack-cocaine in this time period were limited. Moreover, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* were the only large-scale newspapers that populated articles using the search term "crack-cocaine" for this time period. In total I sampled and coded 84 newspaper articles, which is in-line with previous content analyses of newspaper articles (Cobbina, 2008; Patterson et al., 2016; Sterling et al., 2015).

Analytic Strategy

Measures.

In order to make sense of my research questions and hypotheses by conducting a content analysis, I systematically coded each article selected for my sample. First, I developed a code sheet based on information gleaned from my literature review. I coded each article using the same codes for keywords, manifest phrases, and latent content. To address my hypotheses, I coded for manifest and latent content for both drug users and dealers. I coded separately for each to examine if users and dealers are portrayed differently from each other and across drug types.

In terms of coding keywords in relation to my hypotheses, I coded each article for the presence or absence of words related to my hypotheses. For example, I coded each article for the presence or absence of the keywords ‘violent/violence’ and ‘crime/criminal’ to address my first hypothesis. For my second hypothesis, I coded each article for the keywords ‘sad/tearful’ and ‘addiction disease’. I coded each article from the keywords ‘jail/prison’ to address my third hypothesis. For my fourth hypothesis, I coded each article for the keywords ‘treatment/rehab’ and for my last hypothesis I coded each article for the keywords ‘black/people of color, minorities’ and ‘white’

Next, I coded each article for manifest phrases, or the presence or absence of pre-determined phrases. So, in the case of my first hypothesis, I coded each article for the presence or absence of the phrases: ‘drug (specific drug in question) users are violent’, ‘drug (specific drug in question) dealers are violent’, ‘using drugs (specific drug in question) is linked to other crimes’, and ‘dealing drugs (specific drug in question) is linked to other crimes’. For my second hypothesis, I coded each article for the presence or absence of the phrases: ‘drug users (specific drug in question) have an addiction disease’ and ‘drug (specific drug in question) users are/were good people’. I coded each article for the presence or absence of the phrases: ‘drug users should go to jail/prison’ and ‘drug dealers should go to jail/prison’ to address my third hypothesis. Additionally, I coded for the presence or absence of the phrase ‘drug users should go to rehab/treatment’.

Furthermore, for each of these hypotheses, I coded for latent content using a Likert scale ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’. For example, to address my first hypothesis, I coded whether I strongly disagreed or strongly agreed on a 5-point Likert scale that the article portrayed users/dealers as violent/bad/evil. When coding latent content in each article, I looked

for underlying meanings regardless of the presence of particular keywords or phrases as it is conceivable that an article implicitly described users/dealers as violent without using the term violent. I coded each article for latent content using this strategy. Additionally, it should be noted that coding for latent content is inherently subjective as it involves making sense of the underlying message of the article.

Statistical Analysis.

After conducting some statistical tests, I recoded my ordinal variables from a five-point Likert scales ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' to a three-category ordinal variable using 'strongly disagree/disagree'; 'neither/not present'; and 'strongly agree/agree'. I collapsed categories here to help alleviate problems associated with having too few counts in each cell. I used bivariate crosstabulations, reporting Chi-square statistics, cell counts, and cell percentages in order to test support for my hypotheses. Contingency tables lend themselves to bivariate analyses using dichotomous, nominal, and ordinal variables, making crosstabulation the most appropriate analysis tool for my data. However, because of my small sample sizes, the Chi-square should be interpreted with caution.

HEADING 4

FINDINGS

The data associated with my first hypothesis are presented in Table 1. I hypothesized that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis would depict users and dealers as violent more than users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin. As shown in Table 1, a contingency table lends support for this hypothesis ($X^2 = 45.39$, 3 df, $p < .001$). Table 1 illustrates that the keywords 'crime/criminal' were present in over 75% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s, in only 12.5% percent of the articles regarding heroin, and in none of the articles on the non-medical use of prescription opioids. Additionally, the results shown on Table 1 offer further support for my first hypothesis in terms of the presence of the keywords 'violent/violence' ($X^2 = 28.70$, 3 df, $p < .001$). The words 'violent/violence' were present in over 54.5% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s, in only 8.3% in the articles on heroin, and in none of the articles about the non-medical use of prescription opioids. However, the presence of keywords cannot provide the context in which these words were used in the articles. To further explore results related to my first hypothesis, we must examine the manifest phrases present in each article.

Further support for my first hypothesis is clear when examining the manifest phrases found on Table 1, as a contingency table indicates that 31.8% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s stated that *using* crack is linked to other crimes, while only 4.1% of articles on heroin stated that *using* heroin was linked to other crimes, and none of the articles about the non-medical *use* of prescription opioids stated this ($X^2 = 18.07$, 3 df, $p < .001$). Moreover, the contingency table lends additional support for my first hypothesis ($X^2 = 15.44$, 3 df, $p < .001$), such that 22.7% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s said those who *use* crack-

cocaine are violent, none of the articles about other drugs framed *users* in this way. This variable is important because many of the articles regarding crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were not focused on drug *users*, which was the case for articles on the non-medical *use* of prescription opioids and heroin. Yet, as Table 1 illustrates, in cases where articles on crack-cocaine mentioned drug *users*, they were framed very differently from the ways in which *users* of the other two substances were portrayed.

As much of the articles on crack-cocaine were centered on crack *dealers*, it is important to explore how newspapers framed the crack-cocaine crisis in terms of *dealers*. Table 1 shows that the keywords 'drug dealing/selling' were present in 90.9% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s, 50% of those from the 2010s, in 37.5% of articles on heroin, and only 29.1% of articles on non-medical prescription opioids, further supporting my first hypothesis ($X^2 = 20.36$, 3 df, $p < .001$). Moreover, looking at Table 1, we can see that a contingency table lends support for my first hypothesis ($X^2 = 24.59$, 3 df, $p < .001$), such that 50% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s assert that crack *dealers* are violent, 8.3% of articles on heroin state that heroin *dealers* are violent, and none of the articles on non-medical prescription opioids do so. Furthermore, 68.1% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s state that *dealing* crack is linked to other crimes, 50% of articles on crack from the 2010s state this, only 8.3% of articles on heroin assert that *dealing* heroin is linked to other crimes, and none of the articles on non-medical prescription opioids stated this, further supporting the first hypothesis ($X^2 = 34.56$, 3 df, $p < .001$).

Table 1 also provides information about the latent content associated with my first hypothesis. Here we can see that a contingency table lends support for hypothesis one ($X^2 = 59.95$, 6 df, $p < .001$) as 22.7% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s were coded as

'strongly agree/agree' to the statement 'article seems to be portraying *user* as bad/violent/evil', compared to 6.2% of crack-cocaine articles from the 2010s, and 4.2% of the articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids and none of the heroin articles. Moreover, 13.6% of the articles on crack-cocaine from this time period were coded as 'strongly disagree/disagree' in reference to this statement, compared to 12.5% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 2010s, 83.3% of the articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids, and 95.8% of articles on heroin. Furthermore, because articles on the crack-cocaine crisis were predominately focused on drug *dealers*, we should look to the latent content regarding drug *dealers*. Table 1 shows support for my first hypothesis, such that 59% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s were coded as 'strongly agree/agree' to the statement 'article seems to be portraying *dealers* as bad/violent/evil', compared to 43.8% of crack-cocaine articles from the 2010s, 16.6% articles on non-medical prescription opioids, and 29.2% of the articles on heroin. As we can see, my first hypothesis, that portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis would be more violent than those of the non-medical use of prescription opioid crises and heroin crisis, was supported by each measure.

I also hypothesized that media portrayals of users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin would be more empathetic in nature than those portraying users and dealer of crack-cocaine. A contingency table, as shown on Table 2, lends support for this hypothesis ($X^2 = 21.77$, 3 df, $p < .001$), as 54.1% of articles on heroin and 29.1% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids used the words 'addiction disease', only 6.2% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 2010s used these words, and these words were not present in any of the crack-cocaine articles from the 1980s. Interestingly, the case in which 'addiction disease' was used in an article on crack-cocaine from the 2010s, it was used in reference to heroin, not crack. Moreover, the words 'sad/tearful' were found in 29.1% of articles on heroin, 33.3% of articles on

non-medical use of prescription opioids, 6.2% of articles on crack from the 2010s, and only 4.5% of articles on crack from the 1980s, illustrating further support for my second hypothesis (X^2 = 9.18, 3 df, $p < .05$).

Table 2 lends further support for my second hypothesis (X^2 = 24.83, 3 df, $p < .001$), such that 54.2% of heroin articles stated 'heroin *users* have an addiction disease', 29.2% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids stated that 'those who *use* opioids nonmedically have an addiction disease', while none of the articles on crack from the 1980s or 2010s stated that 'crack *users* have an addiction disease'. Furthermore, Table 2 shows that 62.5% of articles on heroin stated 'heroin *users* are/were good people', 54.1% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids stated 'those who *use* opioids nonmedically are/were good people', only 4.5% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s asserts that 'crack *users* are/were good people', and none of the articles on crack from the 2010s made this statement, further supporting my second hypothesis (X^2 = 27.95, 3 df, $p < .001$).

In terms of latent content, Table 2 offers support for my second hypothesis (X^2 = 36.96, 6 df, $p < .001$), such that 75% of articles on heroin and 66.6% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids were coded as 'strongly agree/agree' to the statement 'article evokes empathy for *user'*, compared to 13.6% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and none of the articles on crack from the 2010s. Only 8.3% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids and none of the heroin articles were coded as 'strongly disagree/disagree to this statement, as compared to over 25% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s. As such, my second hypothesis was supported by each measure.

For my third hypothesis, I proposed that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will advocate for more punitive drug policy than those portraying the non-medical use of prescription

opioids and heroin crises. Table 3 lends support for this hypothesis ($X^2 = 18.75$, 3 df, $p < .001$), such that the words 'jail/prison' were present in over 50% of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s, in 16.6% of articles on heroin, and only 8.3% of articles on non-medical prescription opioids. However, if we look to Table 3, the contingency table regarding the presence of the statement 'drug *users* should go to jail/prison' does not support my hypothesis ($X^2 = 2.94$, 3 df, n.s.). Additionally, the manifest phrase data found on Table 3 does not support my hypothesis in terms of the presence of the phrase 'drug *dealers* should go to jail/prison ($X^2 = 4.67$, 3 df, n.s.).

In terms of latent content associated with my third hypothesis, the results found on Table 3 offer mixed support. The statement 'article portrays government/police intervention as necessary to curb drug *use'*, articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids were most likely to be coded as 'strongly agree/agree' at 33.3%, compared to 18.1% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s, 6.3% of articles on crack from the 2010s, and 16.6% of articles on heroin ($X^2 = 54.09$, 6 df, $p < .001$). However, articles on heroin and non-medical use of prescription opioids were coded as 'strongly disagree/disagree' in response to this statement at 75% and 28.3% respectively, as compared with only 9.1% of crack-cocaine articles from the 1980s and none from the 2010s, which illustrates some support for my third hypothesis. Furthermore, as many of the articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s focused on *dealers*, we should look to information regarding portrayals of drug *dealers.* Table 3 lends support for my third hypothesis ($X^2 = 15.24$, 6 df, $p < .05$), such that 68.2% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 37.5% of articles on crack from the 2010s were coded as 'strongly agree/agree' to the statement that 'article portrays government/police intervention as necessary to curb drug *dealing'*, compared to 25% of articles on non-medical prescription opioids and 20.8% of articles on

heroin. Therefore, while support for my third hypothesis is mixed, these findings illustrate that articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were more likely to frame the drug crisis in terms of crime and punishment than those on the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin.

My fourth hypothesis states that media portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises will advocate for treatment and rehabilitation, rather than criminal justice intervention, more than those portraying the crack-cocaine crisis. Table 4 shows results from another contingency table that lends support for my fourth hypothesis ($X^2 = 36.79$, 3 df, $p < .001$), as the words 'rehab/treatment' were present in over 80% of the articles on heroin and non-medical use of prescription opioids, only 12.5% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 2010s, and 22.7% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s. Again, we must look to manifest phrases for more context specific information.

In terms of my fourth hypothesis, Table 4 shows that 87.5% of articles on heroin stated that 'heroin *users* should go to rehab', 66.6% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids asserted 'those who *use* opioids nonmedically should go to rehab', 18.1% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s stated that 'crack *users* should go to rehab', and none of the articles on crack from the 2010s made this claim, this provides support for my fourth hypothesis ($X^2 = 38.01$, 3 df, $p < .001$). Moreover, if we examine the latent content found on Table 4, we find more support for my fourth hypothesis ($X^2 = 44.47$, 6 df, $p < .001$), such that 87.5% of articles on heroin and 79.1% of articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids were coded as 'strongly agree/agree' to the statement 'article portrays rehabilitation as necessary to curb *use'*, compared to 22.7% of articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and none of the articles on crack from the 2010s.

My last hypothesis states that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will include more references to racial categories than portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises. Table 5 shows support for my last hypothesis, such that articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were more likely to use the words 'black/people of color/minorities', at 50% and 43.8% respectively, than articles on non-medical use of prescription opioids, 8.3%, and heroin, 16.7% ($X^2 = 13.41$, 3 df, $p < .01$). This finding, supported by past literature (Alexander, 2012; Chiricos, 1996; Cobbina, 2008; Covington, 2004; Duster, 1997; Hartley & Miller, 2010; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b; Young, 1981), points out that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis were often racialized in that such portrayals included racial descriptors of 'black/people of color/minorities', effectively linking crack-cocaine use and dealing to people of color.

HEADING 5

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In this paper I aimed to make sense of media portrayals of drug crises in the United States by conducting a comparative analysis of newspaper articles about the crack-cocaine, non-medical use of prescription opioids, and heroin crises. Many scholars note the power the media wields in shaping public opinion and policy (Adoni & Mane, 1984; Best, 2017; Cohen & Young, 1973; Happer & Philo, 2013; McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). Moreover, prior research illustrates that portrayals of and responses to drug crises vary along the lines of race and class (Chiarello, 2016; McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). The present study extends this work to include an analysis of media portrayals of drug crises in which one user base belongs to a privileged racial group who are often assumed to have initiated use through once legal prescriptions and the other does not.

Utilizing previous literature on media portrayals and framing and media representations of drug crises, I developed five hypotheses that drove my research. In my first hypothesis, I proposed that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis would depict crack-cocaine users and dealers as more violent than those portraying users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioid and heroin. I also hypothesized that media portrayals of users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin will be more empathetic in nature than those portraying users and dealers of crack-cocaine. Additionally, I suggested that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will advocate for more punitive drug policy than those portraying the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises. Moreover, I hypothesized that media portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises will advocate for treatment and rehabilitation, rather than criminal justice intervention, more than those portraying the crack-

cocaine crisis. Finally, I proposed that media portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis will include more references to race than portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin crises.

My findings illustrate the many ways in which media portrayals of crack-cocaine, the non-medical use of prescription opioids, and heroin crises varied by drug type. Specifically, the findings presented here show that variations in media portrayals were consistent in that articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were more likely to portray users and dealers as violent compared to portrayals of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin users, supporting my first hypothesis. This hypothesis was supported by each of the three code types used, those being keywords, manifest phrases, and latent content. Additionally, the findings show that media portrayals of users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin tend to be more empathetic, as compared to portrayals of users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin, illustrating support for my second hypothesis. This hypothesis was also supported by analyses of keywords, manifest phrases, and latent content.

Articles about crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were more likely to call for police intervention than those on the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin, supporting my third hypothesis. However, in this case, the three types of codes did not illustrate the same results. While the keywords ‘jail/prison’ were more likely to be found in articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s, the difference in presence and absence of the manifest phrases associated with this hypothesis were not significantly different by drug type. The codes for latent content offered limited support as articles on the heroin crisis were the most likely to be coded as ‘strongly agree/agree’ with the statement ‘article portrays government/police intervention as necessary to curb drug use’, as compared to articles on crack-cocaine and non-

medical use of prescription opioids. Moreover, as articles about crack-cocaine typically centered on drug dealers, I looked to the latent content regarding dealers which illustrated support for my third hypothesis as articles on crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were more likely to be coded as 'strongly agree/agree' to the statement 'article portrays government/police intervention as necessary to curb drug dealing'. As such, support for this hypothesis was mixed, more codes would be needed to gain a better understanding of potentially differing media portrayals of the necessity of government and police involvement to curb substance use and dealing.

My fourth hypothesis, that media portrayals of the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin would be more focused on rehabilitation than portrayals of the crack-cocaine crisis, was supported by each of the three code types. Moreover, articles regarding crack-cocaine from the 1980s and 2010s were more likely to mention the keywords 'black/people of color/minorities than articles about the non-medical use of prescription opioids and heroin, thus illustrating support for my fifth hypothesis. Furthermore, by including a sample of articles on crack-cocaine from the 2010s, I was able to show that such differences are not solely a product of social progression in terms of substance use, but rather, drug type matters in terms of media portrayals.

As is the case of all research, this study is not without limitations. A limitation of this study is my decision to examine print news media, rather than other forms of digital media that may be more accessible and enjoy higher readership than traditional print newspapers. While some data do indicate that overall readership of print newspapers is down (Brock, 2013), research also shows that the investigative work of journalism is still done primarily by those employed with traditional print newspapers (Brock, 2013). Therefore, original news stories are generated by traditional newspapers and then repackaged and repeated by digital sources (Brock,

2013). Moreover, many print newspapers have a healthy existence online in which they can disseminate stories that were printed in their ink and paper format. As such, I argue that while I limited myself in terms of data collection by not examining television broadcasts or news media that is found strictly online, this may not present a major barrier for making sense of media portrayals as digital media is likely influenced by the investigative work done by journalists who work at print newspaper organizations. Finally, it was necessary to limit the sample to print media because the crack-cocaine crisis occurred in the 1980s when there was no internet.

Another limitation of my current research is my small sample size. However, in order for this study to be manageable for a Master's paper, this sample size was determined to be sufficient. Moreover, taken together, I coded 86 newspaper articles, which is sufficient for a content analysis and reflects other studies in which content analyses of newspaper articles were conducted (Cobbina, 2008; Patterson et al., 2016; Sterling et al., 2015). Further, a limitation of this study is my decision to include articles from only select newspapers. My decision was based partly on readership as I wanted to include newspapers which enjoyed high readership, such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, thus influencing general public opinion. Yet, I also chose to include newspapers such as *The Los Angeles Times* and *The Chicago Daily Herald* as they represented portrayals of the drug crises in terms of regionality; the crack-cocaine crisis affected large population in Los Angeles and the non-medical prescription opioid and heroin crises affected suburbia in the Chicago area. Therefore, my inclusion of both types of newspapers, those with high readership and those with regional relevance, may work to this study's advantage because it provides a glimpse into newspaper portrayals when the crisis was both shaping public opinion for individuals who may be far removed from the drug crises and those who likely have direct experience with the drug crises.

Lastly, content analysis has varying degrees of advantages and disadvantages regarding reliability and validity depending on the coding techniques employed by the researcher (Babbie, 2001). Babbie (2001) points out that coding manifest content results in high reliability as the researcher is literally coding the presence or absence of certain words or phrases. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the researcher would wrongly code manifest content; and, it is highly likely that others would code the content in the same way. As such, in terms of the present research, coding manifest content increases the reliability of that measurement. However, manifest content may not have high validity if the variable does not accurately measure what is intended (Babbie, 2001). However, I am confident that the manifest content I intend to code accurately measures the variables of interest. Alternatively, coding latent content has the advantage of validity because it does not rely on the presence of specific words, thus it renders a deeper appraisal of the material at hand. Yet, coding latent meaning lacks reliability because a researcher may not code the same way each time due to the subjectivity of the coding technique (Babbie, 2001). In this research, I assert that the coding of latent material achieves reliability as I carefully coded latent content. Moreover, because I compared manifest and latent codes to examine where they bore the same results and where they did not, reliability of the findings is high.

Overall, the findings presented here illustrate users and dealers of non-medical prescription opioids and heroin experience more favorable media portrayals than those afforded to the users and dealers of crack-cocaine. As media portrayals impact the public's perceptions and thus policy, the implications of such differential portrayals can be seen directly in the criminal justice system, particularly in terms of sentencing and incarceration rates (Alexander, 2012; Covington, 2004; Duster, 1997; Hartley & Miller, 2010; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). Taken together we can begin to see the ways in which media framing, based on

dominant racialized stereotypes, likely work to reify a collective consciousness that is characterized by racist ideologies which may serve to reproduce racism at the level of policy and implementation.

Differential media framing of drug crises along the lines of race and class may reinforce ideologies regarding morality expectations of different groups as much rhetoric surrounding drug selling and use relies on moral judgements (Chiricos, 1996; Cobbina, 2008; Young, 1981; Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). Such moral concerns and judgements regarding drug sellers and users portrayed in the media may come to serve as evidence or support for racist ideologies and stereotypes as media coverage often form the foundation of knowledge and arguments individuals use when thinking about events beyond their experiences (McCombs, 2014; McQuail, 1972). Moreover, moral judgements and beliefs made by the general public may lead to scapegoating of vulnerable communities as media portrayals racialize and class drug crises (Reinarman & Levine, 1997a, 1997b). Lastly, moral judgements regarding drug users and sellers likely impact the availability and accessibility of treatment and rehabilitation options (Chiarello, 2016).

Future research should dig deeper into the differences found among media portrayals of drug crises in this study. Utilizing more detailed code sheets, particularly about how the articles portray drug use and dealing in relation to police, government policy, and rehabilitation and treatment could offer a more nuanced understanding of the findings presented in the present study. Additionally, research exploring the extent to which such media portrayals map onto shifts in public perceptions of substance use/dealing and drug policy could provide further support for the assertions of communication scholars regarding the media's power in shaping public opinion and policy.

Table 1. Keywords, Manifest Phrases, and Latent Content for Hypothesis 1[1]

	1980s Crack-Cocaine N=22	2010s Crack-Cocaine N=16	Non-medical Prescription Opioids N=24	Heroin N=24	
	Present (%)	**Present (%)**	**Present (%)**	**Present (%)**	**X^2 (df)**
Keywords					
Crime/Criminal	17 (77.2)	12 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (12.5)	45.39*** (3)
Violent/Violence	12 (54.5)	9 (56.2)	0 (0.0)	2 (8.3)	28.70*** (3)
Drug dealing/selling	20 (90.9)	8 (50.0)	7 (29.1)	9 (37.5)	20.36*** (3)
Manifest Phrases					
Drug use is linked to other crimes	7 (31.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.1)	18.07*** (3)
Drug users are violent	5 (22.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	15.44*** (3)
Drug dealers are violent	11 (50.0)	8 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (8.3)	24.59*** (3)
Dealing drugs is linked to other crimes	15 (68.1)	8 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (8.3)	34.56*** (3)
Latent Content					
Article seems to be portraying user as bad/violent/evil					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	3 (13.6)	2 (12.5)	20 (83.3)	23 (95.8)	54.95*** (6)
Strongly Agree/Agree	5 (22.7)	1 (6.2)	1 (4.2)	0 (0.0)	

[1]. Note: *$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$. Table 1 only presents counts and percentages of presence of keywords and manifest content. Absences can be calculated by subtracting number present in cell from the N for articles on drug type. Table 1 does not give counts and percentages for the category of 'neither/not present'. This can be calculated by adding the other category counts and subtracting from the N for articles on drug type.

Table 1. Continued[2]

	1980s Crack-Cocaine	2010s Crack-Cocaine	Non-medical Prescription Opioid	Heroin	
	N=22	N=16	N=24	N=24	
	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	X^2 (df)
Latent Content					
Article seems to be portraying dealer as bad/violent/evil					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	1 (4.5)	3 (18.8)	1 (4.2)	2 (8.3)	14.34* (6)
Strongly Agree/Agree	13 (59.0)	7 (43.8)	4 (16.6)	7 (29.2)	

[2.] Note: *$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$. Table 1 only presents counts and percentages of presence of keywords and manifest content. Absences can be calculated by subtracting number present in cell from the N for articles on drug type. Table 1 does not give counts and percentages for the category of 'neither/not present'. This can be calculated by adding the other category counts and subtracting from the N for articles on drug type.

Table 2. Keywords, Manifest Phrases, and Latent Content for Hypothesis 2[3]

	1980s Crack-Cocaine N=22	**2010s Crack-Cocaine** N=16	**Non-medical Prescription Opioids** N=24	**Heroin** N=24	
	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	X^2 (df)
Keywords					
Addiction Disease	0 (0.0)	1 (6.2)	7 (29.1)	13 (54.1)	21.77*** (3)
Sad/Tearful	1 (4.5)	1 (6.2)	8 (33.3)	7 (29.1)	9.18* (3)
Manifest Phrases					
Drug users have an addiction disease	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (29.2)	13 (54.2)	24.83*** (3)
Drug users are/were good people	1 (4.5)	0 (0.0)	13 (54.1)	15 (62.5)	15.44*** (3)
Latent Content					
Article evokes empathy for drug users					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	6 (27.2)	4 (25.0)	2 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	54.09*** (6)
Strongly Agree/Agree	3 (13.6)	0 (0.0)	16 (66.6)	18 (75.0)	

[3]. Note: *$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$. Table 2 only presents counts and percentages of presence of keywords and manifest content. Absences can be calculated by subtracting number present in cell from the N for articles on drug type. Table 2 does not give counts and percentages for the category of 'neither/not present'. This can be calculated by adding the other category counts and subtracting from the N for articles on drug type.

Table 3. Keywords, Manifest Phrases, and Latent Content for Hypothesis 3[4]

	1980s Crack-Cocaine N=22	2010s Crack-Cocaine N=16	Non-medical Prescription Opioids N=24	Heroin N=24	
	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	X^2 (df)
Keywords					
Jail/Prison	13 (59.0)	8 (50.0)	2 (8.3)	4 (16.6)	18.75*** (3)
Manifest Phrases					
Drug users should go to jail/prison	1 (4.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.94 (3)
Drug dealers should go to jail/prison	7 (31.8)	5 (31.3)	3 (12.5)	3 (12.5)	4.67 (3)
Latent Content					
Article portrays government/police intervention as necessary to curb drug use					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	2 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	14 (28.3)	18 (75.0)	54.09*** (6)
Strongly Agree/Agree	4 (18.1)	1 (6.3)	8 (33.3)	4 (16.6)	
Article portrays government/police intervention as necessary to curb drug dealing					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.2)	2 (8.3)	15.24* (6)
Strongly Agree/Agree	15 (68.2)	6 (37.5)	6 (25.0)	5 (20.8)	

[4]. Note: *$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$. Table 3 only presents counts and percentages of presence of keywords and manifest content. Absences can be calculated by subtracting number present in cell from the N for articles on drug type. Table 3 does not give counts and percentages for the category of 'neither/not present'. This can be calculated by adding the other category counts and subtracting from the N for articles on drug type.

Table 4. Keywords, Manifest Phrases, and Latent Content for Hypothesis 4[5]

	1980s Crack-Cocaine N=22	**2010s Crack-Cocaine** N=16	**Non-medical Prescription Opioids** N=24	**Heroin** N=24	
	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	Present (%)	X^2 (df)
Keywords					
Rehab/Treatment	5 (22.7)	2 (12.5)	19 (79.1)	21 (87.5)	36.79*** (3)
Manifest Phrases					
Drug users should go to rehab/treatment	4 (18.1)	0 (0.0)	16 (66.6)	21 (87.5)	38.01*** (3)
Latent Content					
Article portrays rehabilitation as necessary to curb drug use					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	1 (4.5)	1 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	44.47*** (6)
Strongly Agree/Agree	5 (22.7)	0 (0.0)	19 (79.1)	21 (87.5)	

[5] Note: ***$p < .001$. Table 4 only presents counts and percentages of presence of keywords and manifest content. Absences can be calculated by subtracting number present in cell from the N for articles on drug type. Table 4 does not give counts and percentages for the category of 'neither/not present'. This can be calculated by adding the other category counts and subtracting from the N for articles on drug type.

Table 5. Keywords, Manifest Phrases, and Latent Content for Hypothesis 5[6]

	1980s Crack-Cocaine N=22	**2010s Crack-Cocaine** N=16	**Non-medical Prescription Opioids** N=24	**Heroin** N=24	
	Present (%)	**Present (%)**	**Present (%)**	**Present (%)**	**X^2 (df)**
Keywords					
Black/People of Color/Minorities	11 (50.0)	7 (43.8)	2 (8.3)	4 (16.7)	13.41** (3)
White	1 (4.5)	2 (12.5)	4 (16.7)	2 (8.3)	1.99 (3)

6. Note: $^{**}p < .01$. Table 5 only presents counts and percentages of presence of keywords. Absences can be calculated by subtracting number present in cell from the N for articles on drug type.

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Bachelor of Arts, Sociology, December 2014

Research Paper Title:
Media Framing of Drug Crises in the United States

Major Professor: Dr. Rachel Whaley